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# MODERN SQUARE GROUNDS OF THE CREEK INDIANS

(With Five Plates)

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# MODERN SQUARE GROUNDS OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By JOHN R. SWANTON,
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(With Five Plates)

The writer has already published descriptions of many of the square grounds of the Creek Indians, the sacred areas where their busks and other annual ceremonies took place.[1] In collecting this material, however, my endeavor was to learn the most ancient arrangement of the several grounds and the arrangement of those grounds no longer in use. During the summer of 1929 I visited the Creek country again to secure information regarding the organization of the extant grounds. This work duplicates and supplements the earlier to a considerable extent, but the main purpose was somewhat different.

Besides the three Yuchi grounds, now in the vicinity of Kellyville, Bixby, and Depew, respectively, with which I did not concern myself, there are, or were in 1929, 17 square grounds, as follows: Abihka and Otciapofa near Henryetta; Nuyaka north of Okemah; Łåłogålga[2] or Fish Pond and Åsilanabi west of Okemah; two Tulsa grounds near Holdenville; Tukabahchee at Yeager; Łapłåko near Wetumka; Alabama east of Alabama Station on the Frisco Railroad; Eufaula west of Eufaula; Kasihta east of Okmulgee; and Hilibi, Kealedji, Okchai, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki about Hanna. Abihka, Otciapofa, Nuyaka, Łåłogålga, Kasihta, Hilibi, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki were visited, and new information obtained regarding all of the others except Eufaula, of which I secured very good descriptions 17 years before. The Eufaula ground, that of Åsilanabi, one of the Tulsa grounds, Tukabahchee, Alabama, and Okchai were visited in the winter of 1911-1912. Kasihta is the only square ground representing the Lower Creeks now maintained. It was not in existence during my earlier work in the Creek Nation, nor were Łapłåko or Kealedji.[3] These two last and the Yuchi grounds are the only ones that I have not seen. I was present at part of the busks at Otciapofa, Nuyaka, and Pakan Tallahassee. Not much attention was devoted

[1] 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1924-25, pp. 204-296, 1928.

[2] In the present paper, å indicates the obscure a in such a word as ability, and ł or Ł is a surd l approximating thl in English.

[3] But see p. 35 regarding the former.

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114 344 to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

000 In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

101 The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

101 619 Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

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several actual cases of such assimilation in later times. However, so far as the tribes enumerated are concerned, this must always remain in doubt. 101 619

When the tribes of the Confederation first became known to white people, they were distributed geographically into two main sections to which the names Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks have become attached. The former were on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and the upper course of Alabama River in the present state of Alabama, the latter on the lower and middle courses of the Chattahoochee, which now forms part of the boundary between Alabama and Georgia. It was this latter division principally which lived upon Ocmulgee River for a time and thus gave rise accidentally to the popular English name for the entire people. A minor division also existed between those Creeks living on the middle course of Coosa River and those centering about the lower Tallapoosa, the two being sometimes designated as Upper and Middle Creeks, respectively. In the distribution of the original Muskogee tribes, the Abihka and Coosa constituted the greater part of the Upper Creeks, while the Kasihta and Coweta were the dominating element among the Lower Creeks. The Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, Liwahali, Laplàko, Kolomi, and a number of towns descended from the Coosa, including Otciapofa, the Tulsa towns, and the Okfuskee towns, besides several minor groups, formed the bulk of the Middle Creeks. The Eufaula had the distinction of being connected with all three. Their oldest seat seems to have been in the Upper Creek country; later they established themselves among the Middle Creeks and about the period of first white contact they formed a colony well down Chattahoochee River, among the Lower Creeks. To complete the story of their migrant habits, we may add that they seem to have furnished the first true Muskogee contingent to the Florida Seminole in the Red House or Tcuko Tcati Indians north of Tampa Bay.

Tradition seems to be borne out by circumstantial evidence in pointing to the Lower Creek country as that region in which the tribes in question began their federation. According to the story this had to do on the one hand with the division of the Muskogee into the Kasihta and Coweta and on the other with the relations between them and the non-Muskogee elements, particularly the Apalachicola. The relations of the Kasihta and Coweta to each other are somewhat uncertain, for while it is at times implied that they resulted from the fission of a single body of people, the most popular traditions speak of them as having come from the west 101 619 642

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as two distinct tribes and it is possible that the one-tribe idea may be the result of later rationalizing. The story goes that, having defeated all of their enemies, the Kasihta and Coweta instituted periodical ball games as a kind of "moral equivalent for war," and afterwards, when either of them established relations of friendship with other Indians, whether Muskogee or not, these Indians entered on the same side as their friends so that this dual system soon became general.

One of these sides, that of Kasihta, came to be known as the White or Peace side, though it did not receive that specific name; while the side of Coweta was the Red or War side.

At the same early period the Muskogee entered into intimate relations with the Apalachicola Indians, who spoke a dialect related to Hitchiti. This was the outgrowth of a treaty of peace following upon hostilities, or to avert threatened hostilities. The Apalachicola were then taken into the Confederation on the same side as Kasihta. In some particulars, however, they are held to have been more representative of the White towns than Kasihta and for that reason their settlement came to be called Tâlwa Łáko, "Big Town." Indeed, the migration legend related to Oglethorpe by Tchikilli implies that Kasihta was at least partly Red, their hearts being "red on one side and white on the other." However, in all later times Kasihta assumes the leadership of the White towns among the Lower Creeks, as does Coweta the leadership of the Red towns. Four having been the sacred number—the sacred formulae being gone through four times, four arbors or beds constituting the ceremonial buildings in the square ground and four sticks the number employed in the ceremonial fires—it is not surprising that the Creeks should select two towns from the Upper Creeks, taken collectively, to add to these two leading Lower Creek towns. The White towns of the Upper Creeks were represented by Abihka, the Red towns by Tukabahchee, the second being from that group I have called Middle Creeks, the other from the northernmost bounds of the Nation. These four towns were the "back sticks" of the Confederation, and each had a special ceremonial name, viz., Kasihta Łáko ("Big Kasihta"), Coweta Mahmayi ("Tall Coweta"), Tukabahchee Ispokogi, and Abihka Nâgi. Ispokogi was the name of the culture heroes of the Tukabahchee and it may be a Shawnee term. It bears a suspicious resemblance to that of the Kispokotha band of Shawnee. I do not know the meaning of Nâgi. The Abihka were also called specifically "the door-shutters," because they protected the northern frontier of the Confederation.

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In course of time the non-Muskogee element represented by the Apalachicola Indians was increased, first by other groups related to the last mentioned—such as the Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, and Tamali—who spoke closely related languages and called themselves Atcik-hata, a term said to have some reference to the ashes of the ceremonial fire in the square grounds. These Indians formed the greater part of the first Creek invaders of Florida who presently constituted the Seminole nation. The leading town in this southward movement was Oconee, almost certainly affiliated with the Atcik-hata, and the titular leadership among the Seminole remained with them until after the Seminole War. However, the complexion of the Seminole as a whole was changed from Atcik-hata or Hitchiti, to Muskogee by the multitudes of refugees which fled to Florida after the Creek War of 1813-14. The later removal to Oklahoma seems to have reversed the situation since more than two-thirds of the Indians now in Florida speak a language of the Hitchiti group.

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There is strong evidence that the Chiaha Indians originally spoke Hitchiti and that the Mikasuki of Florida branched off from them, but some early event in their history separated them from the other Atcik-hata and made them allies of the Coweta. This friendship they shared with the Osotci who seem originally to have belonged to the Timucua linguistic group of Florida. To the Upper Creeks were added the distinct but dialectically related Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, while bands of Yamasi and Apalachee were temporarily connected with both Upper and Lower Creeks. The Alabama town of Tawasa seems to have had an origin similar to that of the Osotci. At a very late date the wholly alien Yuchi population was admitted into the Confederation, most of them making their home among the Lower Creeks though there was a small body also among the Upper Creeks. And more divergent still were the Shawnee, from among whom two towns made their homes in Creek territory for several decades during the eighteenth century. One of these probably continued on into the early years of the nineteenth century.

It may be added that towns are known to have changed from one side to the other. Alabama was once a White town closely associated with the Okchai, but later they were affiliated with the Tukabahchee and came to be reckoned as Red. Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Wiwohka are also said to have shifted from one side to the other. In the case of the two last this may be partially explained by the fact that, if we may trust native tradition, they were built up of refugees from other settlements.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogâlga and Âsilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłâko, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tâmi with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

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Lidjâmi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, and Muskrat [1] were usually placed with the Raccoon.

Some phratral associations, however, were confined to one or a few towns and did not extend throughout the nation. Thus the Potato was commonly placed in one phratry with the Raccoon but in Tukabahchee it was separated. The Beaver was usually placed with the Bird, but in Alabama it was quite distinct. On the other hand it was sometimes classed with the Alligator. Occasionally the Aktayatci formed one phratry with the Raccoon, and much more rarely the Deer and Panther were found together. Differences of this kind were due in some measure to the council system. Every important clan in a given town, or every group of related clans, held meetings during the annual ceremony known as the busk and each listened to an address by its oldest capable male member or "uncle." If an individual came to live in a town in which his own clan or his phratral group was not represented, he would elect to affiliate with one of those already in existence. It was usual for all of the children of each group of this kind to consider themselves brothers and sisters between whom marriage was ordinarily prohibited. However, the information I received shows plainly that sexual intimacy between individuals of linked clans was not considered as serious as between members of the same clan. It is specifically stated regarding some of these clans that "they were kin" up to noon, or up to midnight, and separate the rest of the time, *i. e.*, a limited taboo was maintained against them. It is also said that a man would sometimes pretend that a woman whom he wished to marry was of a certain clan, for which he would manufacture a name, although she was in fact of his own, and that, if he were a man of influence, he often "put over" this new creation of his. On the other hand, I have been told that, even though children of certain of the primary clans were brought up together, they would never be regarded as brothers and sisters. It is quite plain that all sorts of variations had grown up in response to unpredictable situations.

When one eliminates the obscure and the constantly linked clans, about nine are left of something like major importance. These are the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther. We should perhaps add the Potato. The Beaver, however, has importance mainly in one group of towns, and the Aktayatci appear to have been rather closely associated with the Hitchiti and the Seminole, but also with Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula.

[1] In the 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (p. 116) I erroneously called this the Mink.

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614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagálgi, "White People," and Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohīl Yáhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała łàbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or hołibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called ist-atcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

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344 rationalization, there can be no doubt that the earlier ceremonial grounds of the constituent members were altered in many particulars in conformity with the prevailing pattern.

All the grounds known to us originally consisted of three elements, a tcokofa or community hot house used in bad weather or for secret ceremonies, a "square ground," and a "chunkey yard," or ball ground. The name "chunkey yard" is derived from an old pastime which consisted in rolling a stone disk along a level plot of land and throwing certain long poles after it, the game turning on the relative nearness of the poles to the roller after all had come to rest. There was a single pole in the middle of this yard surmounted by a cow or horse skull or by a wooden figure, and about this men and women played against each other in a kind of ball game. This game was mainly confined to people of the town and was social in character while the great ball game, similar to our game of lacrosse, was played by men only and was highly ceremonial. The fact that the "chunkey yard" was a part of the ceremonial ground may indicate that the single pole game formerly had more religious significance than was the case in later times.

The tcokofa has long been out of use, though at Tukabahchee fire was until recently lighted in the middle of a circular offset of the ceremonial ground where this structure would stand if it were still in existence, and one such building was put up at Pakan Tallahassee after the Civil War.

The most important part of the ceremonial area today is the "square ground," so called because in the largest towns there were on it four long cabins or arbors, in native parlance "beds," forming four sides of a square. Partly from tribal idiosyncrasy and still more on account of failing numbers, several of these grounds now lack one cabin, and the Alabama ground lacks two. Today the cabins consist merely of two or three rows of split logs to serve as seats and an arbor of boughs to shield their occupants from the direct rays of the sun, but anciently the seats consisted of mats woven out of cane raised upon short posts and the cabins were provided with a back and roof of wattle or split shingles plastered with clay. The arbors in the largest modern towns are supported on eight posts, four in front and four behind, but some have only six, and most of the Seminole towns only four. On the other hand, a sketch of one of these cabins made by a Frenchman early in the eighteenth century shows ten posts, five in front and five at the back. Today, however, the eight post arrangement seems to be considered orthodox, and the three sections marked off by these

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posts are used for the seating of as many clans, groups of clans or related officials. 344

Considerable variation in the ancient and intended plan has been brought about by the attrition which the tribe and its several divisions have undergone, loss of the keepers of the sacred lore, and other factors, but it is plain that normally one of the four cabins was mainly devoted to the miko and his clan. Hence it was called mikâlgi (or mikâgi) intupa, the "Chiefs' bed.". Another was devoted mainly to the henīhâlgi and was named from them, another to the higher class of warriors, the tâstânâgâlgi, and so received their name, and still another to the novitiate warriors or youths from whom it was called tâsikaiâlgi intupa or tcibânâgâlgi intupa. The positions of these in the square ground varies considerably. It should be stated in the first place that the cabins are placed normally toward the four points of the compass, but that for some unexplained reason in the square of Tukabahchee the entrances are toward the cardinal points. In the old Kasihta square, which seems to have set the fashion for many other towns, the mikos' cabin lay west, the henihas' south, the tâstânâgis' north, and the tâsikaias' east. In the Okfuskee towns, of which Nuyaka is an example, the mikos' cabin lay north, the henihas' east, the tâstânâgis' west, and the tâsikaias' south. In Pakan Tallahassee the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' south, the tâstânâgis' west, and there is no east cabin. In Eufaula the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' east and the tâstânâgis' south, the west cabin being missing. In Alabama, where there are but two cabins, the mikos' cabin is east.

The other variations in the arrangement of the squares will come out in the subjoined material, but before presenting it something must be said regarding town officials.

The miko, as already stated, was chief of the town, its head [622] presiding officer and responsible executive. Like many of the other 624 officers he had a special companion or henīha taken from the Wind clan or whatever clan occupied the position of henīhâlgi. This henīha is sometimes called miko apokta, "second chief," but the latter name is also given to still another functionary who shares the burdens of state with his superior. The chief had one or more yatikas or interpreters who also bore the name asimbonaia, "speakers." Unless wanted to make an announcement or to send upon an errand, they sat with their clan or other group to which they normally belonged. The tâstânâgi łâko and holibonaia have been mentioned. The position of holibonaia, "war speaker" was the most exalted military position, and it is possible that there was only one such official at a time in

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624 the entire Creek Nation. It was the position occupied by Hobohîl Yàhola, famous leader of the Creeks during their removal west and all of their subsequent troubled history until the Civil War. He was not a miko even of one town, but his influence was actually greater than that of any miko, or any number of them. There were two ta'pala, whose chief function was to act as messengers before and during the women's dance, and there were two singers for the women (inyahaikàlgi, "singers for them"), who sat at the end of one of the cabins just in front of the spot where the women began dancing. They were usually selected for their knowledge of songs rather than on account of their clan affiliations. The hilis haya was the head priestly functionary. He supervised the preparation of the medicines and gave them their final potency and he ordered everything in any way touching upon the supernatural. He was assisted by one or more men called hilis tcàlaba or "medicine mixers," whose functions are defined by the name, and by two or more young men called hilis hoboia, "medicine gatherers," who collected the red root, pasa, and other plants that went into the sacred medicine. Some towns seem to have had a separate official called tutka dīdja, "fire builder," to start the fire, but in others the hilis haya did that, and there was instead a tutka oktidīdja, "gatherer of wood" for the fire. A number of boys known as oidjawàlgi brought water for the medicines. In one town we learn of ahaga haiyàlgi, "law makers," who are said to carry out the instructions of the tàstànàgis and may be identical with the imałas elsewhere mentioned. There were also officers called simiabaia, or "leaders." The hoktàgi immiko, "chief of the women," and his henīha, may have been identical with the ta'palas. Anciently the tàstànàgis and their assistants acted as town police, but nowadays three or four light horsemen are selected at random to police the square ground during ceremonies, and there are boys called "dog whippers" with long whips stationed at each opening into the square during the women's dance to drive away dogs. Many of these officers were chosen for four years only. If one died before the expiration of his term, a substitute was selected from the same clan, which seems to indicate that the position was something of a clan prerogative.

796 Of the ceremonies which took place on these grounds, only two have survived. One, called by the popular local name of "stomp dance," was confined to the people of the town and was simple in character, the miko hoyanīdja (red willow) being ordinarily the only medicine used during it. There were no dances other than the common and relatively secular ones, no ceremonial lighting of the fires, no

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ceremonial complications of any sort. It seems to have been usual 796
to hold three of these dances in the spring and early summer, a month apart, the series paving the way for, and leading up to, the second ceremonial, the "busk," which was the great annual ritual. This last is usually considered as lasting four days, though in that four are included the days of assembling and departure. The principal event on the second day is the women's dance. On the third day the men fast, take medicine four times, and near its close march down to the creek and bathe. After they return, they are dismissed to their camps and break their fast. Later they are summoned to the square again where they dance four times, and then the dance becomes "common," visitors from friendly towns being admitted to it. A fire is kept up all night in the center of the square and dancing continues about it until it is nearly day. In former times many, perhaps all, of the towns extended their busks over eight days, but from what can be learned of these longer ceremonials they seem to have been in the main a simple doubling of the shorter ceremony, except for a few features like the kindling of the new fire which took place but once annually.

Let us now turn to the new material regarding the square grounds and the ceremonies conducted there. Under each heading I give the notes obtained from native informants belonging to the square or town in question.

## ABIHKA

Figure 1 gives the general arrangement of the square of Abihka, 344
or Talladega, and Plate 1, Figure 1, gives a view of the ground itself 621
near Henryetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912. The exposure was 796
made from the southwest.

The medicines were taken first by those in the Bears' bed, then in succession by those in the beds of the Raccoon on the west side, the Raccoon on the east side, the Deer, and those in the south bed. The asimbonaia in the northern section of the east cabin acted more particularly as the chief's messenger; the one in the western compartment of the south cabin called first the women and then the children to come to take their medicine from the vessel at the north end of the east cabin. The ta'palas were changed every four years. The women gathered preparatory to their dance at a tree on the edge of the tādjo (the ridge of sweepings that makes the edge of the ceremonial ground) and entered the section about the fire at its northwestern corner. Five pots of medicine were prepared at the north end of the west cabin (fig. 1, 11). Afterward one pot

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was placed a little farther north and west for the boys (12) and another was carried around to the north end of the east cabin for the women and children (13). The ingredients of this medicine

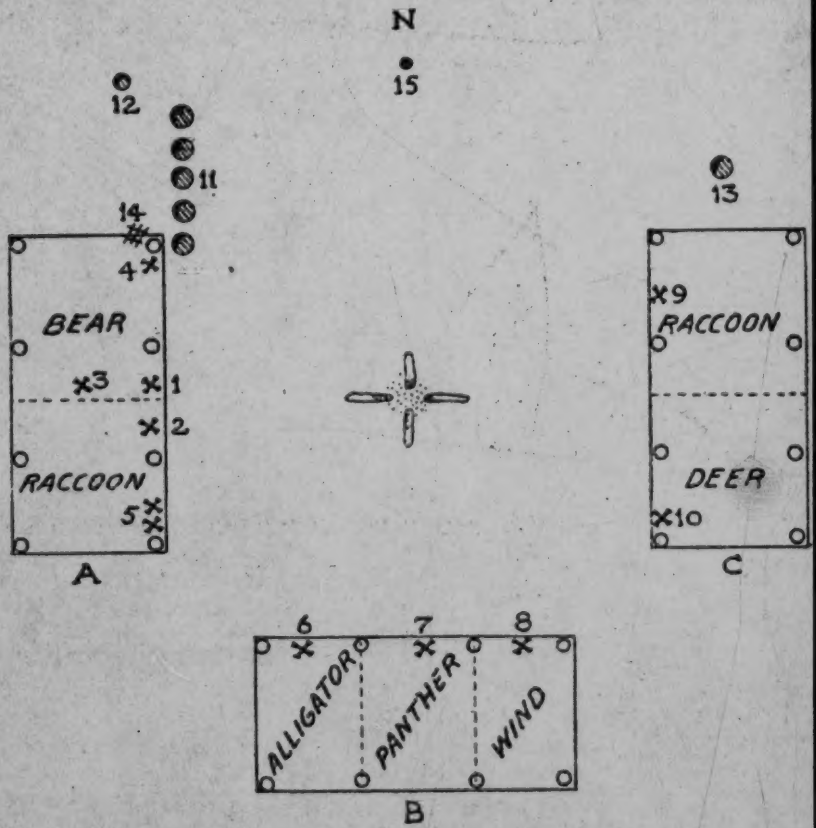


FIG. 1.—General arrangement of the square of Abihka.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikâlgi or mikâgi intupa); 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Raccoon); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon); 4, hilis tcâlaba; 5, yâhaikas (any clan).
B. Henihas' Bed (henihâlgi intupa): 6, asimbonaia (Alligator); 7, ta'pala (Panther); 8, ta'pala (Wind).
C. Warriors' Bed (tâstânagâlgi intupa): 9, asimbonaia (Raccoon); 10, tutka dîdja (Deer).

11, medicine pots (1st position); 12, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 13, medicine pot for women (2d position); 14, place where medicines were piled immediately after they were brought in; 15, ball post (pokâbi).
It is to be noted that, in all of these diagrams, the ball post was actually much farther from the center of the square than is indicated.

were miko hoyanîdja ("red root"), pasa ("buttonsnake-root"), wîlana ("wormseed"), and hobâga ("maypop"); tcato hâtki ("white stones") were added. After the ceremony was about over and the fasters were ready to go down to bathe in the creek, what was left

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of the medicine was poured on the fire. It is said that one gallon of spring water was brought for all five pots. This must mean a gallon for each. Following are the busk names of the present officers:

| | |
|---|---|
| miko | Tcûktcât Heniha |
| heniha | Itcha Hadjo |
| hilis tcâlaba | Konip Yâhola |
| ta'pala | Katca Tâstânâgi |
| " | Kona Yâhola |
| tutka dîdja | Tâstânâkutci |
| asimbonaia | Wotko Fiksiko |
| " | Kapitca Hadjo |

The Hathagâlgi of this town are Wind and Bear; the Tcilokogâlgi are Panther, Raccoon, Deer, Beaver, Alligator, and Bird.

My information regarding this ground was obtained mainly from Jim Star who described the Talladega ground to me in 1912, the plan of which is in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 205. The different aspect of the east cabin is mainly due to the fact that the earlier account gives a more ancient arrangement, when the warriors were graded into tâstânâgis, and big and little imałas. The position assigned to the hilis haya in the earlier plan is probably erroneous. The other differences are due mainly to the more extensive information obtained on my last trip. My new information disagrees with the older, however, in assigning the Bird, Beaver, and Alligator clans to the Tciloki side as was said to be the case at Abihka-in-the-West instead of to the White side as was given me for Talladega and the old Abihka town near Eufaula. It is probable that the new information is correct since the last mentioned square was given up when the man from whom I obtained data regarding it was a boy. However, it must be remembered that these allocations are not invariable and probably changed at times even within the same town.

## OTCIAPOFA, OR HICKORY GROUND

Figure 2 shows the square ground of Otciapofa, popularly known as Hickory Ground.

The hilis tcâlaba was changed every four years and was not taken invariably from the same clan.

At the southernmost front post of the east cabin were fastened two poles with black feathers tied to the ends and at every other front post were three similar poles but with white feathers. These were carried by the men in the "feather dance."

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In the women's dance there is but one leader who carries a notched stick called atâsa, the old name of the war club, from the middle of which depends an eagle feather.

Besides the invariable miko hoyanîdja or "red root," the busk medicine contained tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), wîlana ("wormseed"), tutka-tcok-hissi (a place on the ground where wood has been burned and moss has sprung up), and hobâga ("maypop").

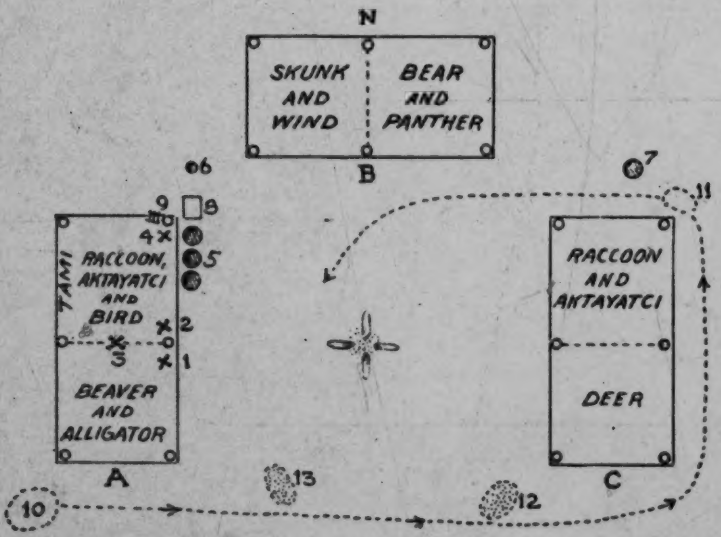


FIG. 2.—The square ground of Otciapofa, or Hickory Ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Beaver); 2, miko apokta (Beaver); 3, hilis haya (any clan; at present Wind); 4, hilis tcâlaba (changed every 4 years; now Beaver).
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.

5, medicine pots (1st position); 6, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 7, medicine pot for woman (2d position); 8, log on which medicines were laid and macerated with a small wooden pounder; 9, place where medicines were kept: 10, point where women gathered preparatory to their dance; 11, point where women made a final stop before entering to dance; 12, where the ashes from the central fire were deposited every year; 13, sweepings from the square ground (tâdjo); 14, ball post.

As usual, the doctor perfected this medicine by blowing into it through a hollow reed. Two men took medicine at the same time, using gourd dippers. After all were through a dipperful was poured on the fire.

For a drum they use a stout jar and there are two coconut-shell rattles.

There is a line of tâdjo (sweepings) around the four cabins but it does not include the ball post. In playing the single pole game a

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hit on the skull at the top counts five and a hit on the pole above a certain mark counts two when it is struck twice in succession.

The Hathagas consisted of the Beaver, Alligator, Bird, Bear, Skunk, Wind, and Rabbit; the Tcilokis of the Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and Aktayatci. The Rabbit, Wind, and Skunk formed one phratry.

The information regarding this ground which I obtained in 1912 was particularly incomplete. It is therefore gratifying to find that there are no serious discrepancies between the plan based on that (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 211) and the present information. Some clans are given in one and omitted from the other, but where the same ones appear in both they have practically the same positions except for the Bear, which, according to the earlier description, sat in the west cabin and according to the later at the east end of the north cabin; and the Tâmi, which the former places at the west end of the north cabin and the latter at the back of the northern section of the west cabin. The location of the miko, miko apokta or henīha, and hilis haya is probably more exact in the later plan which also adds many more details. The informants differed somewhat regarding the Hathagas and Tcilokis, the earlier authority placing the Beaver among the Tciloki and the Panther among the Whites, allocations exactly reversed by my later informant.

## LITTLE TULSA

Next we come to one of the two divisions into which the Tulsa have recently split, this being known as Little Tulsa (fig. 3). Plate 1, Figure 2, shows the old Tulsa ground in 1911 from the southeast, before the fission had occurred.

It is said that all of the offices are filled from particular clans. The following is a list of the present officers; exclusive of the miko and his henīha:

| | |
|---|---|
| tâstânâgi łako | Ispani Tâstânâgi |
| tâstânâgi | Kapitca Tâstânâgi |
| " | Lata Miko (controls the two above) |
| ahaga haiyâlgi ("law makers") (messengers for the tâstânâgis) | Kapitca Tâstânâgi (Aktayatci), and Tâmi Tâstânâgi (Tâmi) |
| simiabaia | Kântcati Miko (busk name) or Nokos Hadjo (common name) |
| hilis haya | Miko Tcâpko (Beaver) |
| hilis tcâlaba | Tâmi Yâhola (Tâmi) |
| tutka oktidjdja | Tâmâlâkutci (Tâmi) |

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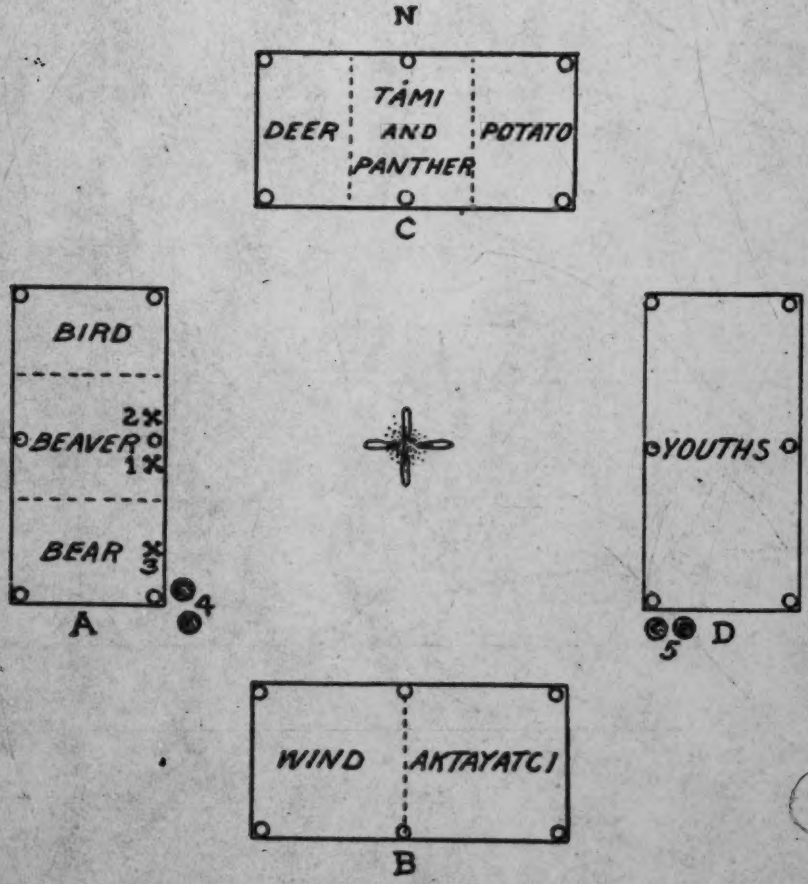


FIG. 3.—Little Tulsa square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko; 2, henĭha; 3, simiabăĭa.
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

4, old location of medicine pots; 5, modern location of medicine pots.

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ta'pala ..... Nokos Fiksiko (Bear)
" ..... Tâmi Hâtkutci (Tâmi)
yâhaikas ..... Kapitca Fiksiko (Aktayatci), and Pin Hadjo (Tâmi)
Captain of the Light Horsemen..... Yâhola Tcâpko (Tâmi)
Light Horsemen ..... Oktcân Hadjo (Bear)
Fûs Yâholutc (Beaver)
Kapitcutci (Aktayatci)

The ta'palas functioned at the women's dance, the yâhaikas sang at the women's dance and at the feather dance.

My original Tulsa data, published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 213), was obtained from an old man and was intended to reflect the most ancient arrangement he could remember. Since that time the Tulsa Indians who used to meet at the Little River ground have divided and maintain two distinct squares. The general agreement between the older and the later plan is therefore surprisingly close. The principal difference seems to be in the position given the Aktayatci who appear in the north bed in the earlier plan and in the south bed in the later one. The earlier plan may also be in error in the position given the medicine pots but this was subject to change from town to town and during the ceremony itself. The Eagle clan, which appears on the older plan, died out so long ago that it can barely be remembered by any living Creeks.

## NUYAKA

The plan of this ground is given in Figure 4 and a view of it as it appeared some years ago in Plate 2, Figure 1.

The positions of hilis haya, hilis tcâlaba, and tutka dîdja were held for four years when the man and clan were changed so as to teach others the duties of these offices. The tâstânâgis and imałas had become confined to one or two clans. The hoktâgi immiko and his henîha controlled the women's dance and were called istatcagas. The term hola'ta was applied to a certain class at the square ground in some towns, sometimes to the Tcilokis, but its application here is not explained. The first ta'pala acted under the women's chief. He was taken from the Bear clan, or, failing that, from the following in order of preference: Wind, Raccoon, Tâmi.

In taking the medicines they drank of the miko hoyanîdja first and pasa second.

A rock was placed under the miko's seat "to make the seat heavy." Anciently there was a tcokofa northeast of the square. Nowadays the ground is hoed off only once a year.

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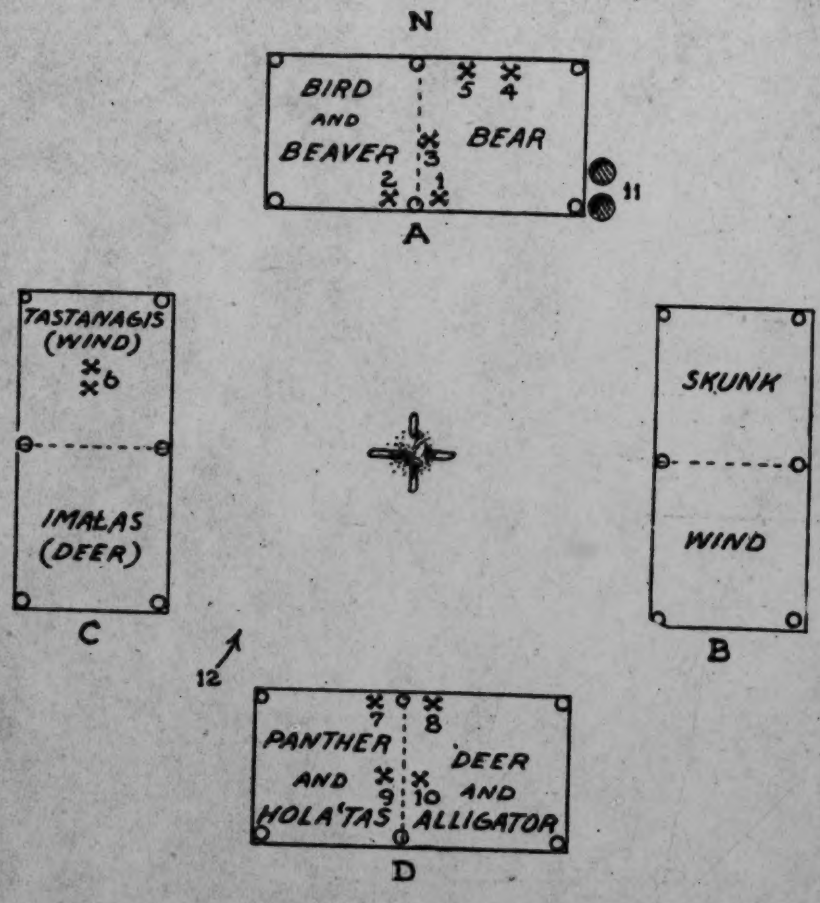


FIG. 4.—Nuyaka square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henĭha (usually Wind; Deer in 1929); 3, hilis haya (changed every 4 years; Turkey in 1929); 4, hilis tcălaba (Alligator); 5, tutka dĭdja (Raccoon).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed; 6, two tăstănăgis (or law makers).

D. Tcilokis' Bed (Tcilokogălgi intupa), or Tăsikaias' Bed (Tăsikaiălgi intupa): 7, hoktăgi immiko (Aktayatci); 8, henĭha for hoktăgi immiko (Alligator); 9, 1st ta'pala (Bear preferentially); 10, 2d ta'pala (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, point at which women enter; 13, ball post.

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In this town the Turkey and Alligator clans belong in one phratry and so do the Wind and Skunk.

The present officers are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| miko | Nokos Miko |
| henīha | Miko Tcápko |
| hilis haya | Tástánáku'tci |
| tutka oktidīdja | Hotálgi Hadjudji |
| hilis tcálaba | Lōdja Yáhola |
| hoktágі immiko | Wotko Yáhola |

When the present Nuyaka data are compared with that which I obtained in 1912 for Nuyaka and the related towns Okfuskee, Abihkutci, Talmutcási, and Tcatoksofa, the agreement is found to be close except in the cases of the two last where the square grounds had long been given up and were described by individuals from memories of their early years. The main correction is in locating the miko, henīha, and hilis haya and the difference here is not great.

## PAKAN TALLAHASSEE

Figure 5 gives the plan and Plate 2, Figure 2, and Plate 3, Figure 1, views of the ground, one showing the three cabins, or arbors, and the other the chunk yard and ball post.

The tutka oktidīdja, hilis tcálaba, hilis haya, and oīdjawas, were appointed every four years from any clan. The ta'palas and hilis hoboia were appointed every four years from the same clan. The miko and asimbonaias held their positions for life.

Here we seem to meet some strange innovations. The Bears' section of the south cabin receives one name connected with war, tásikaiálgi intupa, and the section of the Birds, Beavers, and Alligators another, tástánágálgi intupa, while, at the same time, they are White or Hathaga clans and their cabin is called hathagálgi intupa. Yet one section of the west cabin is called tástánágálgi intupa also, and the whole cabin receives the unusual name of láksáfáskálgi intupa, "bed of the Blacks," the Blacks being evidently the clans elsewhere called tcilōkogálgi.

The tcokofa was to the northwest and this was the last town to put up such a structure.

The Birds' section was called istatcagágі intupa. The Deer and Pahosálgi were formerly called the imałágálgi.

Three poles with white feathers attached were fastened to each of the front posts for use in the feather dance.

Back of the tástánágis' section of the west cabin was a little structure in which to inclose the medicine pots when they were not in use.

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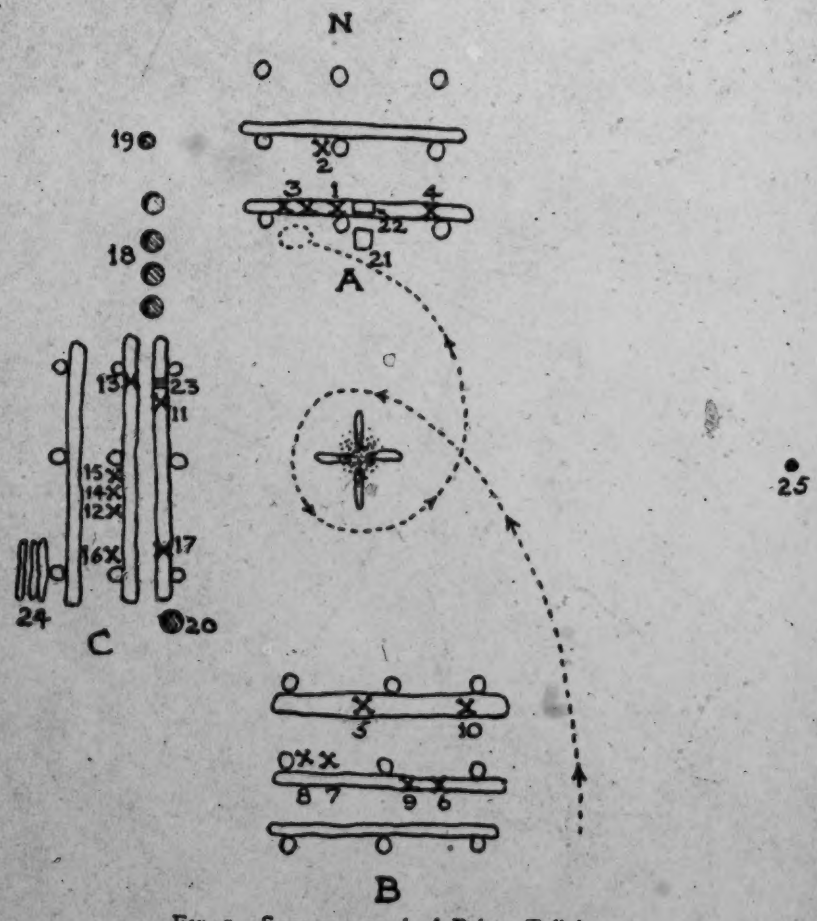


FIG. 5.—Square ground of Pakan Tallahassee.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, hilis haya (Panther in 1929); 3, yáhaikas (singers for women); 4, dog whipper.

B. Whites' Bed (hathagálgi intupa): 5, asimbonaia (Bird); 6, ta'pala (Bear); 7, hilis hoboia (Bird); 8, oïdjawa (Bird); 9, oïdjawa (Bear); 10, dog whipper.

C. Blacks' Bed (laksáfáskálgi intupa): 11, asimbonaia (Deer); 12, ta'pala (Bird; father Raccoon); 13, hilis tcálaba (Deer in 1929); 14, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 15, hilis hoboia (Raccoon in 1929); 16, oïdjawa (Panther in 1929); 17, dog whipper.

18, medicine pots (1st position); 19, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 20, medicine pot for women (2d position); 21, drum; 22, box for tobacco; 23, place where medicine was laid before being used; 24, woodpile; 25, ball post. The dotted line marks the course pursued by the women when they entered to dance.

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In this town the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, Tâmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 344 621 796 526

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko .....Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonaia .....Tâstânâk Imała (Deer)
" .....Tâstânâk Hadjo (Bird)
hilis haya .....Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hilis tcâlaba .....Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oĭdjawâlgi .....1. Fus Yâholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
2. Hotâlgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
3. Halâk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hilis hoboia .....1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
2. Tâlsi Yâhola (Bird)
ta'pala .....1. Halâk Yâhola ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
" .....2. Hotâlgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktidĭdja ...Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yâhaikas .....1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
" .....2. Miko Yâhola (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atâsa held by the leading woman is red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is white and has a feather of the fus hâtki ("white bird"), a bird found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called sĭ'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end. 344 621 796

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

[i.e., Pakan Tallahassee. --Analyst]

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About 54 men were present at the last preceding busk and 25 women and girls participated in the dance.

At the top of the pokábi in this town was a horse skull. In scoring for this game they draw a line from the ball post to the nearest corner of the south cabin. When the skull is struck, 4 are scored; when the pole under the skull is struck, it counts 2 on the way out and 1 on the way back. They may count it as a game, however, by agreement when they reach the corner post. The women's tallies are marked on one side of the line, the men's on the other.

There is little difference except in detail between the above plan of Pakan Tallahassee and the several I recorded in 1912.

## WIOGUFKI

The plan of Wiogufki is given in figure 6 and a view of the ground from the southwest in Plate 3, Figure 2.

There is a little log house on the grounds in which the pots are stored when not in use to keep them from being broken. There never was a north cabin so far as my informant knew. On the upper end of the ball post is a cow skull.

The women walk four times around the fire; then their leaders stop opposite the singers and they begin to dance.

The hilis tcálaba holds office for four years. In this town the place of the miko's henîha is taken by a tástánagi. Indeed all of the tástánagis are considered the same as the henîhas. They are called "the people who are named" and are of the nature of lawmakers and assistants to the miko. The miko's tástánagi is also the same thing as the yatika. There are no istatcagagis (retired leaders who acted as councillors), and no Creek town now has a holibonaia. There are five water boys picked at random. At the front posts of each cabin are four poles with feathers tied to the ends for use in the "feather dance."

The two leading women in the women's dance carry atása. The principal function of the ta'palas is to call the women up for their dance which they do four times. Each has a wand with a little white feather at the end. Their official positions do not end with the women's dance but continue to the end of the busk.

No medicine is now put on the firesticks but it was formerly done. The only medicine they use at the busk is the miko hoyanîdja, to which nothing is added.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as in Hilibi. They were exogamous, and if the exogamic law was violated the ears of the culprits were cut off.

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The towns of Wakokai, Tukpafka, and Talahasutci were all one with this. In regular ball games they always played against Alabama. 344 621 716

Comparison between the plan given above and the two obtained in 1912 shows considerable differences, but since one of the former

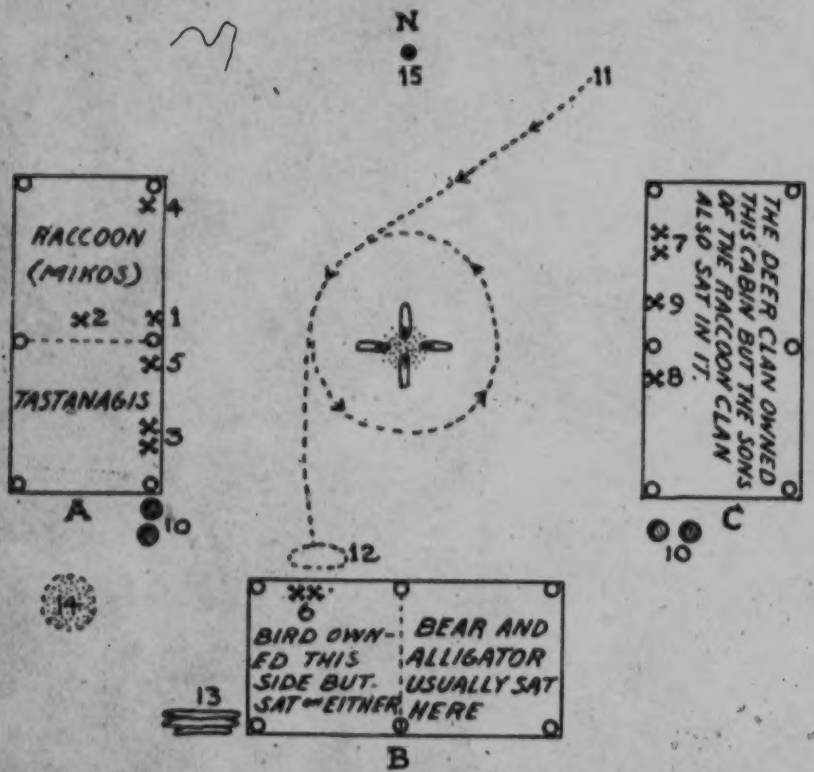


FIG. 6.—Square ground of Wiogufki.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Alligator); 2, hilis haya; 3, hilis tcálaba (Bear and Deer); 4, hilis hoboia (Panther); 5, a tástánâgi (instead of henîha) (Raccoon).

B. Whites' Bed: 6, yáhaikas (Deer).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, ta'pala (Raccoon); 8, hilis hoboia (Deer); 9, tutka oktidîdja (Deer).

10, medicine pots (near bed A for men; near bed C for women and boys); 11, point where women enter to dance; 12, point where women begin dancing; 13, woodpile; 14, ashes of old fires; 15, ball post.

was obtained from the same man, I think the explanation lies in the smallness of the town and the weakness of many of the clans which has resulted in many changes within a comparatively short time. Nevertheless there is a general correspondence and the allocation of clans to the moieties also agrees except in the case of

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the Panther clan. This is explained by the fact that the Panther was anciently considered a White clan and later came to be regarded as Tciloki.

## OKCHAI

Figure 7 shows the arrangement of this square and Plate 4, Figure 1, shows a view of it taken in winter.

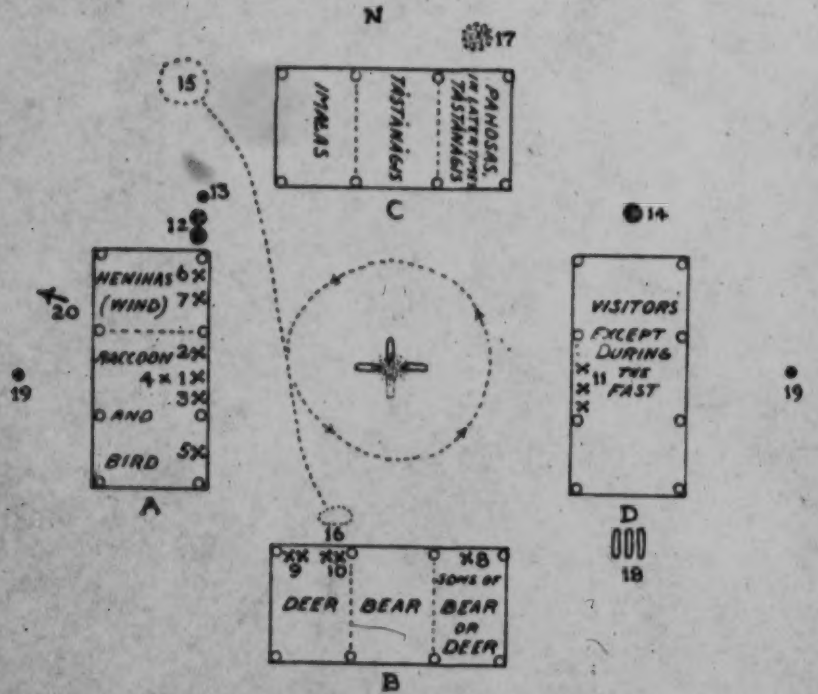


FIG. 7.—Arrangement of square ground of Okchai.

A. Chiefs' Bed 1, miko (Raccoon formerly; Bear in 1929); 2, heniha (Deer); 3, yatika (Deer formerly; Wind in 1929); 4, hilis haya; 5, ta'pala (any clan); 6, hilis tcálaba (Bird); 7, tutka oktidîdja (Wind).
B. Henihas' Bed: 8, ta'pala (any clan); 9, hilis hoboia; 10, yâhaikas (any clan).
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed: 11, oldjawa (any clan).

12, medicine pots; 13, medicine pot for boys; 14, medicine pot for women; 15, point where women assemble preparatory to their dance; 16, point where women start dancing; 17, ashes of previous fires; 18, woodpile; 19, ball posts; 20, a spring lies in this direction.

The hilis tcálaba, ta'pala, and tutka oktidîdja changed every four years. The hilis haya was reappointed every four years.

Wiley Buckner, an old informant of mine, was the former yatika. The tutka oktidîdja in 1929 was Hotâlgi Miko.

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The medicine was pounded up just in front of the pots at the north end of the chiefs' bed.

The fire was brought from Alabama in the great migration and new fire was lighted from it. They dug up the earth as deep as the arm would reach, put the fire in there, and made the new fire on top. This is the very spot at which they first placed their square in Oklahoma and it has not been moved. The squares of the kindred towns, Łáłogálga and Ásilanabi, are not so old.

There were two poles with feathers on the ends at each of the front posts of the cabins all the way round.

Atása were borne by the two women who led in the women's dance.

The tástánagis were law makers. They had charge of the rules governing the taking of medicine and if anyone broke one of these regulations they made him stay in the square ground all night without eating instead of breaking his fast that evening as was usual.

In the various beds of this square ground the "sons of the clan" can sit with their fathers.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as at Hilibi.

Their principal opponents in the ball games years ago were the Hilibi.

This arrangement agrees substantially with that obtained by me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 234), the principal difference being in the location of the Bear and Bird clans. My earlier informants placed the Bird and Aktayatci in the middle of the south cabin and the Bear at the east end of the same, while the later ones said nothing of the Aktayatci but placed the Bird clan in the southern section of the west cabin and the Bear clan in the center of the south cabin, the sons of the Bear being located next to them on the east. The arrangement of this square must be taken in connection with the plans of Łáłogálga and Ásilanabi.

## ŁAŁOGÁLGA, OR FISH POND

For a plan of this ground, see Figure 8.

The tutka oktidīdja is appointed every four years but always from the Aktayatci clan. The hilis hoboia are chosen every four years and ordinarily from the Aktayatci and Bear clans but this is not necessarily the case. However, if one dies before his four years have expired he is replaced by someone of his clan. The hilis hoboia also act as the hilis tcálaba.

Ta'palas are appointed only when needed. There are no special water carriers, the hilis hoboia calling upon any boys for this purpose whenever water is required.

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The two leaders among the women carry atâsa, that held by the first being colored red, that by the second white.

One of the two medicine pots contains pasa; the other the miko hoyanîdja along with wîlana, tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), which

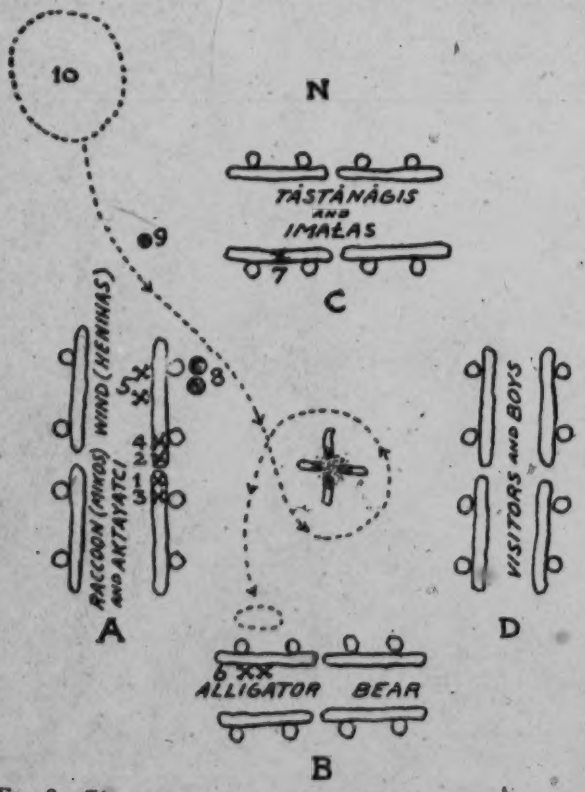


FIG. 8.—The square ground of Łałogâlga, or Fish Pond.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heníha (or 2d chief) (Wind); 3, asimbonaia or yatika (head speaker, drawn from any clan); 4, hilis haya (any clan); 5, hilis hoboia.

B. Citizens' Bed (Tâsikaiâlgi intûba); 6, yâhaikas (no fixed clan).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, tutka oktidîdja (Aktayatci).

8, medicine pots; 9, boys' medicine; 10, point where women assembled preparatory to the dance.

grows in wet places in swamps and has red flowers, tcâto hâtkutci (four "little white rocks"), and tutka-tcok-hissi (green moss from an old fireplace).

If one has eaten new roasting ears he is given a little pasa root to chew and then a little pasa in cold water of which he must take four drinks. Then he can take all of the medicines like the others.

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Some of the medicine is swallowed, the rest spit out. The doctor sees that the medicines are taken and fines those who neglect to do so.

There is a town policeman called istikonā'ha who carries out the orders of the miko against those who have refused to obey him, and collects fines from them. The incumbent in 1929 was Maxcy Alakotci. When I interviewed them they were using the tàstànàgi as the town miko.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Wind, Bird, and Alligator; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Potato.

The Aktayatci are said to have formed one phratry with the Raccoon.

In match games, they played against Tukabahchee, Atasi, Łapłàko, Eufaula, Hilibi, and Kealedji. Alabama was formerly of the same fire but later drew away.

This year (1929) they did not use the pasa. The Àsilanabi square ground is arranged just like this one, but the Okchai differ from these two a little in the use of their medicines. It is thought that Àsilanabi is older than Łálogálga and that the latter branched off in order to get the extra money that was paid to its six representatives in the national assembly.

Except that there is more detail, the arrangement given here differs only slightly from that which I recorded in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 236). The only noteworthy divergence is in the position assigned to the Deer clan by my earlier informants, but this may be attributed to the fact that the miko apokta was then a Deer and his clan was probably brought over to the west cabin for that reason. As we should expect, the agreement is also close with the arrangement of the Àsilanabi ground though there are minor divergencies in the allocation of clans to the south cabin. All of my authorities agreed well in assigning clans to the two moieties, but the oldest of all of them thought that the Beaver and Alligator were probably Tciloki. This may have been the ancient arrangement.

## TUKABAHCHEE

The plan of Tukabahchee square appears in Figure 9 and a view of it as it looked in 1912 is given in Plate 5, Figure 1.

The number of tàstànàgis is indeterminate. The toba mawīdine were officers not otherwise named who always remained in the cabins. There is one in each of the 12 beds except a part of the southeast cabin as indicated. They were selected from any clan, given names taken from the father's clan, and seated with the latter. Thus, if

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a man were a Deer and his father a Raccoon, they would give him a name from the Raccoon clan's names and seat him with them. After being so seated these officers were not obliged to do any further work connected with the busk.

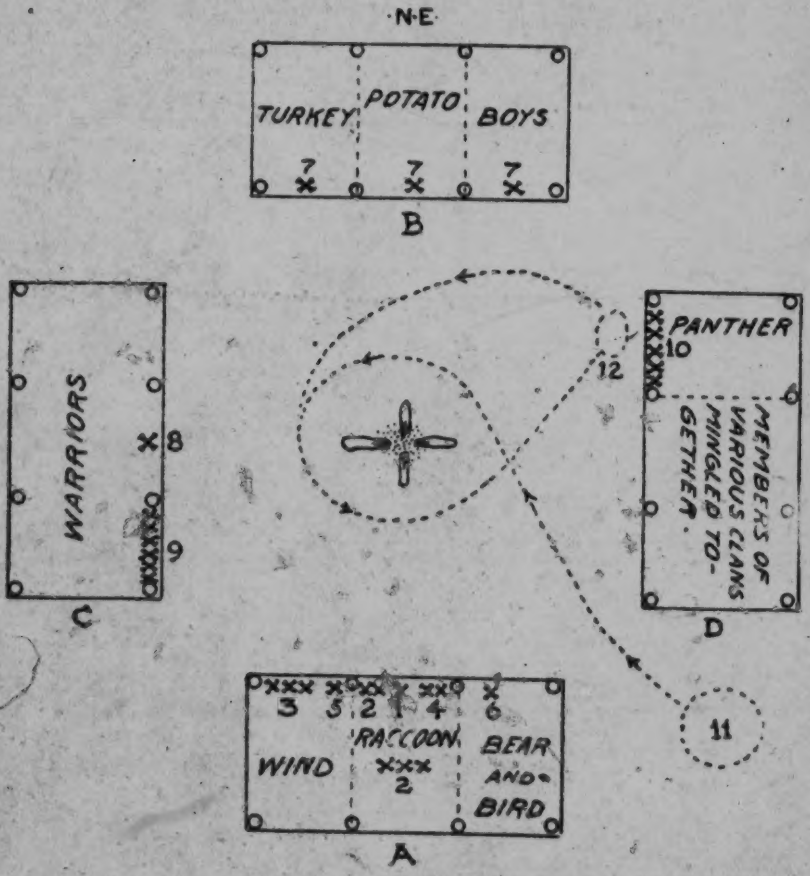


FIG. 9.—Tukabahchee square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, mikos (substitutes) (Raccoon); 3, henihas (Wind); 4, henihas and yatikas; 5, hilis haya; 6, ta'pala.
B. Potato Bed; sometimes also called Youths' Bed: 7, 7, 7, toba mawidine.
C. Warriors' Bed: 8, ta'pala; 9, tastanagi lakalgi.
D. Youths' Bed (Tcibanagalgi intupa): 10, yahaikas; 11, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 12 point where the women start dancing.

The istatcagagis, most of whom sat in the southeast bed, were like a jury, or like a committee, to settle matters of routine. They comprised both men and women. The admittance of women to this select group is something which I heard from no other informant.

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A man was picked out of the bed of the henīhas to speak for others, *i. e.*, the yatikas were selected from the henīhas. None was used in the stomp dance. As payment for his services the yatika was given a deer hide and a ribbon. When he was wanted by the miko he was summoned four times, but he did not start until he had received the fourth call. He set a basket on the ground into which all of the tàsikaias threw bits of tobacco to be taken to the singers for the women as payment for their services.

The holibonaia was a special speaker used in the ball game and in war. The term asimbonaia was about equivalent to that of yatika. He was a head man chosen from among the tàstànàgis for almost any purpose. He listened to any message which the miko wished to give out and then repeated it aloud.

There were two hilis tcàlaba who sat with their clans and were summoned whenever needed. One was a Raccoon and one a Bear.

There were two oktidīdja who sat with their clans or wherever they belonged until summoned to attend to the fire.

Four hilis hoboia, selected from any clans, were sent to gather the medicine.

All of the tàsikaias shared in getting water.

The famous Tukabahchee plates were taken out and cleaned four years in succession and then left covered for four years.

The feather dance was discontinued at Tukabahchee when my informant was a small boy.

The three leading women in the women's dance carry atàsa. The leading woman has an eagle feather on her atàsa, the second a white crane feather, and the other the feather of a third bird, perhaps a goose. They start one at a time and when the third moves all the rest follow. After they have walked round the fire four times they begin to dance and circle the fire again six times.

The Hathagas were Bird, Wind, Bear, and Beaver; the Tcilokis were Turkey, Alligator, Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and any others.

In olden times the moieties were exogamous. The Raccoon and Potato were then brothers, or rather half brothers, but intermarriage between them is now common. Even today, however, the Beaver and Bird will seldom intermarry. The Bird was the "uncle" of the Beaver and the Beaver the former's "nephew."

A man's children called his father's clan "fathers." One can say anything he wishes to, however disrespectful, about his own clan, but he must not speak against his father's clan or permit anyone else to.

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The general arrangement is the same as that obtained from the father of my informant in 1911-12 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 244), but the stations here assigned to some of the individual officers are probably more nearly correct, particularly the locations of the mikos.

## KEALEDJI

Figure 10 shows the Kealedji square.

The hoktâgi immiko, "women's chief," supervised the women's dance. There are now no regular water carriers. The imałas formerly sat in the north cabin, but now there are no officers so called. The beds are called by the names of the clans which occupy them. If the asimbonaia is wanted to deliver a speech, he is called over to the miko's seat for that purpose. For tâstânâgis the best men are chosen. The ta'palas are changed every four years. In former times they had a regular four days' busk, but now it lasts for but one day and there is no feather dance.

In the match games they played against Okchai, Wiogufki, and Tulsa.

The Hathagas are Wind, Bear, Panther, and Turkey; the Tcilokis are Raccoon, Deer, and Aktayatci. In ancient times these moieties were exogamous.

The names of the present officers are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| miko | Kasihta Yâhola (Raccoon) |
| henîha | Henîha Imałutci (Wind) |
| miko apokta | Kayomulgi (Raccoon) |
| hoktâgi immiko | Wiwohka Yâhola (Raccoon) |
| henîha | Oîkas Hadjo (Wind) |
| asimbonaia | Kôsa Fiksiko (Bear) |
| ta'pala | Tâlmutcâs Hadjo (Bear) |
| " | Alak Hadjutci (Turkey) |
| hilis tcâlaba | Kân Tcati (Wind) |
| " " | Itco Imała Fiksiko (Deer) |
| tutka oktidîdja | Ahali Imała |
| hilis hoboia | Tâłkôna Hadjo (Wind) |
| " " | Hotâlgi Fiksiko (Wind) |
| tâstânâgi | Tâstânâk Tcâpko |
| " | Tâstânâkutci |
| " | Inheniha (= henîha) |
| " | Tâłkôna Hadjo |

The plan of the revived square ground of the Kealedji agrees in all essentials with the one given me in 1912 from memory by a very old man, except that in recent times the Deer clan seems to have lost its importance or died out. It is interesting to find that old

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and recent informants agree in assigning the Panther clan to the White moiety. They differ, however, regarding the position of the

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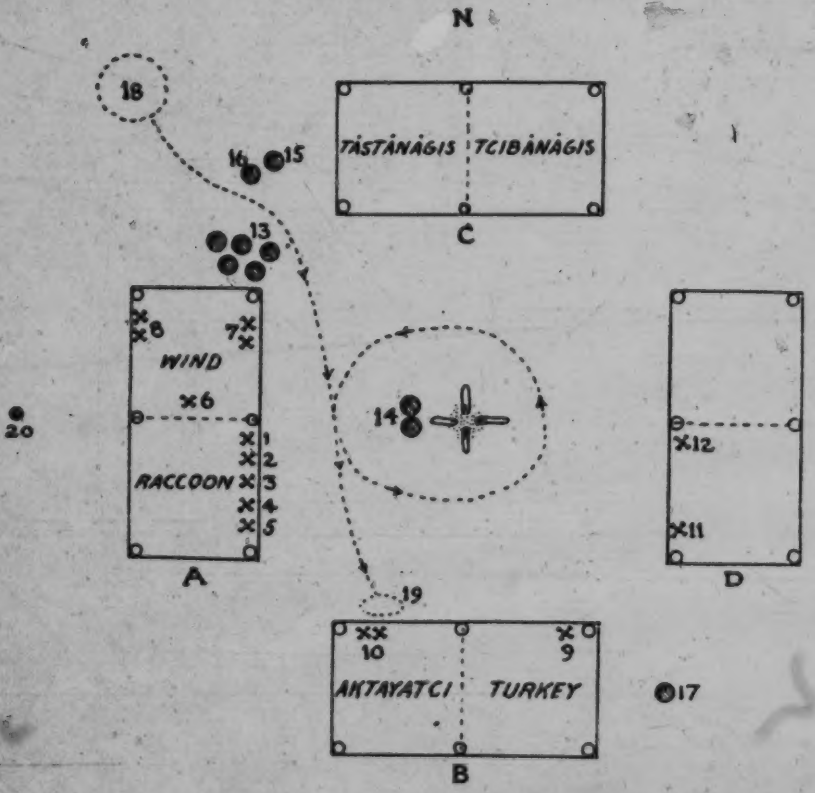


FIG. 10.—The Kealedji square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, henĭha (Wind); 3, miko apokta (Raccoon); 4, hoktâgi immiko (Raccoon); 5, henĭha (Wind); 6, hilis haya (usually Raccoon; Wind in 1929); 7, hilis tcâlaba (Deer and Wind); 8, hilis hoboia (Wind).

B. Youths' Bed: 9, ta'pala (Turkey); 10, yâhaikas.

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. White Bed: 11, asimbonaia (Bear); 12, ta'pala (Bear).

13, medicine pots (1st position); 14, medicine pots for those fasting (2d position); 15, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 16, medicine pot for girls (2d position); 17, medicine pot for women (2d position); 18, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 19, point where women start dancing; 20, ball post.

Turkey, which the earlier informant considered Tciloki and the later White. But this clan, together with the Alligator and Tâmi, is known to have been on one side in some towns and on the opposite in others.

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ŁAPŁÀKO

Figure 11 shows the plan of this ground.

The two pots of medicine were prepared where they are shown (nos. 4 and 5) and remained there all of the time. The Bird clan sat

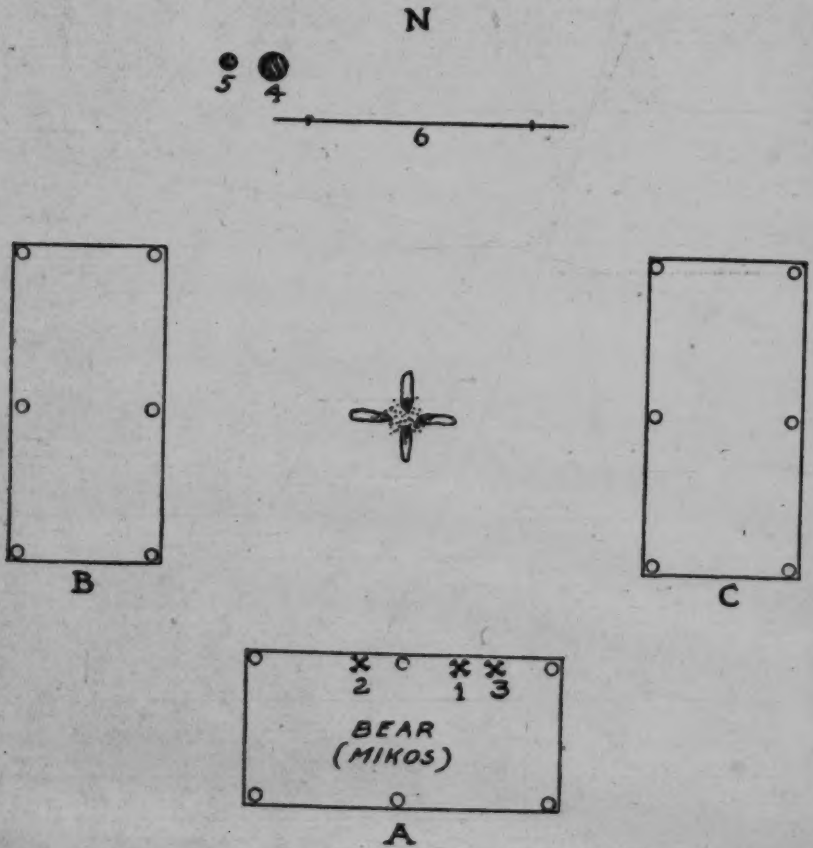


FIG. 11.—Square ground of Łapłàko.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha or miko apokta (Bird); 3, yatika (sometimes seated here).

B. Warriors' Bed. This was usually occupied by middle aged men of various clans.

C. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa). Occupied by various classes, including persons not properly citizens of the town but taking medicine there, men married in the town or adopted into it, and men whose fathers belonged to it.

4, a large pot of medicine for the fasters; 5, a small pot of medicine for the women and children; 6, rack for ball sticks.

anywhere. The yatika belonged to no regular clan, and at the present time there is no such officer. There are two hilis tcàlaba who occupy no special seats, and one hilis haya who is taken from any clan of a friendly town. Towns belonging to the other town moiety do not

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take medicine with them and in fact are not invited except in the case of individuals married into the town. 344 621 796

The Hathàgas are the Bear (the most important of them), Bird, Beaver, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Deer, Potato, Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, etc. Here the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver can intermarry; in Eufaula they could not. But probably this means that the Beaver could intermarry with the other two, as the Alligator and Turkey were seldom allowed to marry under any circumstances. The Bird and Beaver were classed together in Łapłàko, but this group does not include the Bear or Wind. The Hathaga clans had the reputation of being progressive while the Tcilokis were full-bloods and reactionaries. This characterization probably followed the coming of the white people.

The towns of the opposite group were called Tàlipoła, which means " foreign but not unfriendly."

The word Łapłàko indicates a place where there are many marshes filled with canes. This town square, which had been discontinued, was revived in the year 1903 in this way. They had to prepare a ground in order to take medicine before a game with the Nuyaka Indians next year. Later this was improved with regular cabins, but it must have been inconspicuous or have been considered unimportant, as I heard nothing about it in 1912.

Łapłàko and Atasi are now nearly fused on account of the number of marriages between individuals belonging to them. Before the Civil War the Łapłàko had an Atasi Indian named Hotàlgi Hadjo married among them as their hilis haya. One of the great men of Łapłàko in former times was Jim Boy (Tàstànàgi Imała) whom my informant remembers to have seen. He thinks he died just before the Civil War broke out. McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 71-74) give a portrait of this chief and a considerable account of his life. He was born in what is now Alabama in 1793 and accompanied the warriors of his town during the Creek War of 1813-14, but was too young for active participation. In the war with the Seminole he was one of the leaders of the Creek contingent which aided the Americans. The exact date of his death seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the modern ground differs more from those described to me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 254 and 255) than any of the others. The first of the latter was obtained from a very old man who should have known the ancient arrangement well, but of course my interpreter and I may have misunderstood him. The cabins are at different points of the compass

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and more confusion is shown in the later organization, but they agree in stating that the miko belonged to the Bear clan and in placing that clan in the south cabin. My older informant allocated this clan with the Tciloki. This was probably an error on his part but he seemed to insist upon it.

They have had no busk since the Civil War and no women's dance, and the pasa is no longer used, only the miko hoyanīdja. The dances in the square are three stomp dances. Seven days before one of these the "broken days" are sent out and on the day when the sixth stick is thrown away they are all to be at the ground, while on the seventh they are supposed to be taking medicine. Seven days before the dance they also meet and pick out four clean young men, called hilis hoboia, men whose wives are not pregnant, who are not given to intoxicants, and who have not attended to the digging of a grave during the preceding month. These men gather four bundles of medicine (miko hoyanīdja) which they lay down with their tip ends toward the west. First they spread out a bed of leaves called lodja issi, "turtle leaves," which should be taken from hickory trees. The medicine is laid on top of these and more leaves are spread over it. On the morning of the fast day all of those who are to take medicine are supposed to present themselves at the square ground. The fire is built up so that it will not go out all day. Early in the morning the two hilis tcâlaba prepare the medicine, first the medicine for the women and children and then that for the adult men. This is taken four times during the day, the fourth time between one and two o'clock. Before they take the medicine the yatika announces, on behalf of the chief, that each of those intending to take it is to get a stick and throw it into a blanket. These sticks are counted and the yatika announces the number. Four times (or sometimes twice) during the day the men who are to take medicine with the exception of the officials (the mikâlgi, yatika, hilis haya, and the two-ta'pala) go out to get firewood so as to be ready for the dance that night. Four men are selected to keep watch of the fasters during the night, to see that no one sleeps or breaks his fast, or drinks or goes with a woman. That is why the numbers are taken. These four men are called istikonā'ha, "men taking away," because they take away the hat of anyone found sleeping (and treat similarly anyone who breaks the taboos in other ways). The hat they carry to the miko and, when the owner comes to get it, he is fined.

After they have taken medicine for the fourth time, they go to the creek for a bath and then return to the square. The yatika

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talks to them telling them to take care of themselves all of that night, and then they scatter to the camps to eat. Before sundown, however, they are supposed to be back on the ground. The yatika calls to them four times and by the fourth time they are to be in their seats. When all are in their places, the two ta'pala are selected. The yatika makes a speech on behalf of the miko, calling upon his hearers not to act in an unfriendly way toward the outside friends who are about to be admitted to the dance, not to take liquor, to behave themselves all through the night, not to fight, and so on. This speech is addressed to the town people and outsiders alike. After it the fasters dance four times and then the visitors are admitted. That "kills the fast." All through the day the square is to be kept clean with the idea that the fasters will in consequence be clean. They go up to take the medicine two by two, and those who are ceremonially unclean take the medicine last. They dance until about daybreak. Then all belonging to the town go down to the branch and bathe, after which they return and sit in their respective beds. Then a collection may be taken to defray their expenses and they settle other matters. The night before, the chief of a friendly town may have announced a dance, and, if so, the announcement is now made and advice given as to how they are to help their friends. This advice is uttered by the yatika, speaking for the miko, and he then gives a general talk, advising his people not to use liquor, not to break the laws, and to be good citizens in every sense of the word. Then they disband for the year.

## HILIBI

A plan of Hilibi square is shown in Figure 12 and a general view of the ground as it appeared in the winter of 1911-12 in Plate 5 Figure 2.

Two poles with white feathers attached were at each front post. These were used in the "feather dance" and were called "the path," because the path was to be white.

When there are visitors the owners of the east cabin move elsewhere in order to make room for them. When the south cabin is overcrowded, some of its occupants move into the east cabin. In this town the clans were always considerably mixed up in the beds. The ta'palas can sit anywhere. The tutka oktidīdja does not have a particular seat on account of his official position. He is appointed every four years. The tutka dīdja, who starts the fire, is identical with the hilis haya.

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If a man whose father is of the Aktayatci, the miko's clan, is given a busk name, he is brought to the mikos' bed and given a seat there. The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Turkey, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Panther, Potato, Deer, Aktayatci, and evidently the Raccoon. The Alligator and Bird are considered as practically one clan.

The two leaders in the women's dance carry atâsa.

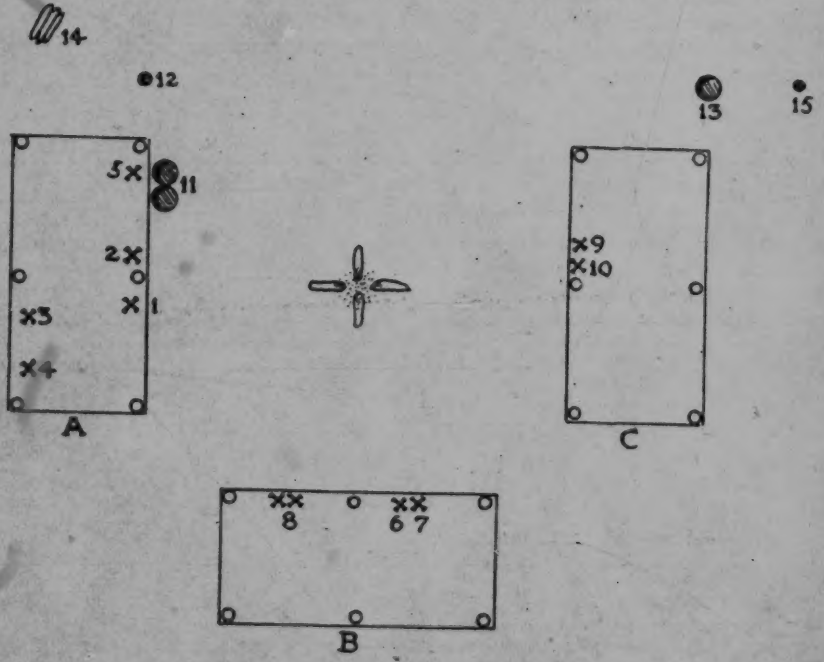


FIG. 12.—Square ground of Hilibi.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1 miko (Aktayatci); 2, heniha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon in 1929); 4, ta'pala (Bear); 5, hilis tcâlaba (Bear in 1929).
B. Raccoons' Bed: 6, hilis hoboia; 7, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 8, yâhaikas (any clan).
C. Cabin used by visitors:-9, ta'pala (Alligator); 10, hilis hoboia (Alligator).
11, medicine pots; 12, medicine pot for boys; 13, medicine pot for women; 14, woodpile; 15, ball post.

The history of this town is as follows. It was founded by a man of the Aktayatci clan who went off to live by himself and then put up a ball post. Many women belonged to his family and he had numerous visitors, some of whom married these women so that it soon grew into a large band of which he was probably the first miko. Anyhow that is the way the Aktayatci came to have the town. After stomp dances had been held there for some time, more visitors came

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to join them and it grew still larger. Because it was built up very rapidly, its founder called it Hilibi, which means "hurry" (hila'pkis, "I make haste"). Since it was an "illegal" band, a tâlwa fâtcasīgo ("town deviating from correctness"), all the clans do not have regular places, having been drawn from so many other bands.

The following notes on some personal names contained in the town roster give an interesting insight into the manner in which totemic names were bestowed:

Fos Hâtki Imała ("White Bird Imała"), so named because he belonged to a White clan, the Wind.

Halak Hopaie. He belonged to the Bear clan, but his father belonged to the Raccoon, hence the name Halak or Ahalak ("Potato"), since both these clans are Tciloki.

Pahos Fiksiko. He belonged to the Wind clan, but his father was a Deer and the Pahosa is of the same phratry as the Deer.

As shown by the native story above given this town was not supposed to be ancient or to have a firmly fixed town organization, and, while it was older than the Hilibi people themselves believed, it seems to have preserved the irregularities which might naturally be associated with a new town. Not improbably the tradition of irregularity preserved the fact. At the same time there is a general agreement between the plan here given and that which I obtained in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 258). The mikos' cabin is to the west, and the mikâlki and henihâlgi were of the same clans, Aktayatci and Alligator respectively. The Alligator and Turkey were classed as Whites from association with the Bird by my later informants, but the earlier ones gave them as Tciloki.

## ALABAMA

This was a very simple square of exceptional arrangement as shown in Figure 13.

The Alabama were one of the incorporated tribes with a language distinct from Creek. The clan names in Alabama are: Mahaleha (Wind), Sawaha (Raccoon), Aktayatciha (Aktayatci), Hâtcuntcobaha (Alligator), Konoha (Skunk), Nitaha (Bear), Koīha (Panther), Fociha (Bird), Fitōha (Turkey), Ofâtaha (Beaver).

All of the officers were brought over to the chiefs' bed. Men of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci have been mikos and a man of the Skunk clan was once the henīha. There is no regular rule for either position.

The Hathagas were the Wind, Bear, Panther, Skunk, and Raccoon; the Tcilokis were the Bird, Beaver, Turkey, Alligator, and Aktayatci. The Wildcat was the same as the Panther.

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One of the greatest Alabama Indians now remembered was Kántcati Yáhola (Alabama name Tcīsōki), who was the hilis haya. He was born in Alabama and came west with his tribe. He lived until about 1866.

The above plan and the three others I obtained in 1912 and the years immediately following (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 263-264) show considerable minor variations but all agree in locating the chiefs' bed in the east and the warriors' bed in the west. Most of them also place the Bear and Panther clans in the latter and the Wind, Aktayatci, and Deer in the former, where they are noted at all. In allocating the clans the above informant agrees with

FIG. 13.—Alabama square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Wind); 2, henīha (Raccoon).
B. Warriors' Bed.

the older ones except regarding the Panther which the men first consulted asserted was Tciloki while it is here given as a White clan, but this is a clan which has been placed on both sides.

## KASIHTA

For the plan of Kashita square ground, see Figure 14.

There should be two hilis tcálaba, drawn from the Alligator clan, but they are not employed now. Four hilis hoboia for the pasa, four for the miko hoyanīdja, and one tutka oktidīdja are chosen by the miko without reference to clan. There is no definite body of water carriers. Two ta'palas are selected from any clan to serve just for the night. They carry sticks called reels, and their function is to invite the dance leaders to lead dances and see that all take part. There is only one singer for the women's dance. He sits behind the miko.

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In 1901 the old square ground was given up and the new one was established in June, 1920. Because the new generation was weak one cabin was cut out. The Coweta square is said to have been the same as that of Kasihta.

Every time anything is brought in or anything repaired they dance all night because thus the two things are joined together, just as

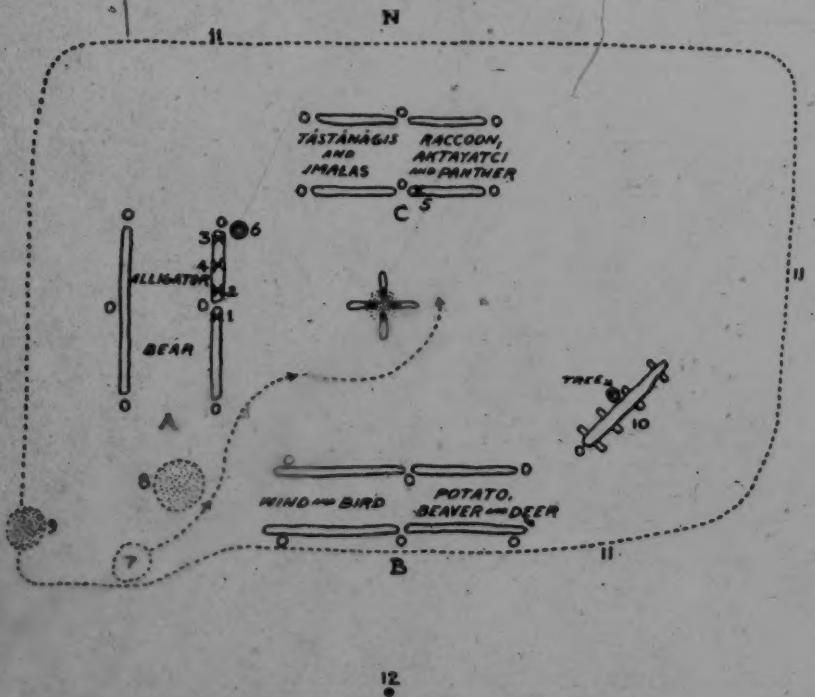


FIG. 14.—Kasihta square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henĭha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (seat when on duty); 4, asimbonaia.
B. Whites' Bed (Henihálgi intupa), or "Cabin of the Greater Kings."
C. Warriors' Bed: 5, asimbonaia (Aktayatci).

6, medicine pot; 7, point where women assemble before dancing; 8, trash heap; 9, where ashes of old fires were placed; 10, split log where are seated those young men who have broken the rules and are in consequence placed here as a punishment before being allowed to mix with the rest of the people; 11, line of sweepings (tádjo) marking limit of square ground; 12, ball post.

two days are united by the night on which they dance. Formerly dances were held every Saturday night, but hard times have put an end to them. The dance which was being held when I paid my visit was because they were then putting up a ball post.

The Hathagas are the Wind, Beaver, Bird, and Deer; the Tcilokis are the remaining clans, yet it is said that the Bear, Alligator, and

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344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.
796 The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town.

The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

177 He added:
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We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

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## OCHESEE SEMINOLE

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This is the only Seminole ground from which I obtained information during my recent trip. The plan of it is shown in Figure 15.

There are two pots of medicine for the miko hoyanidja and pasa respectively, but the latter is introduced only at the busk. The women,

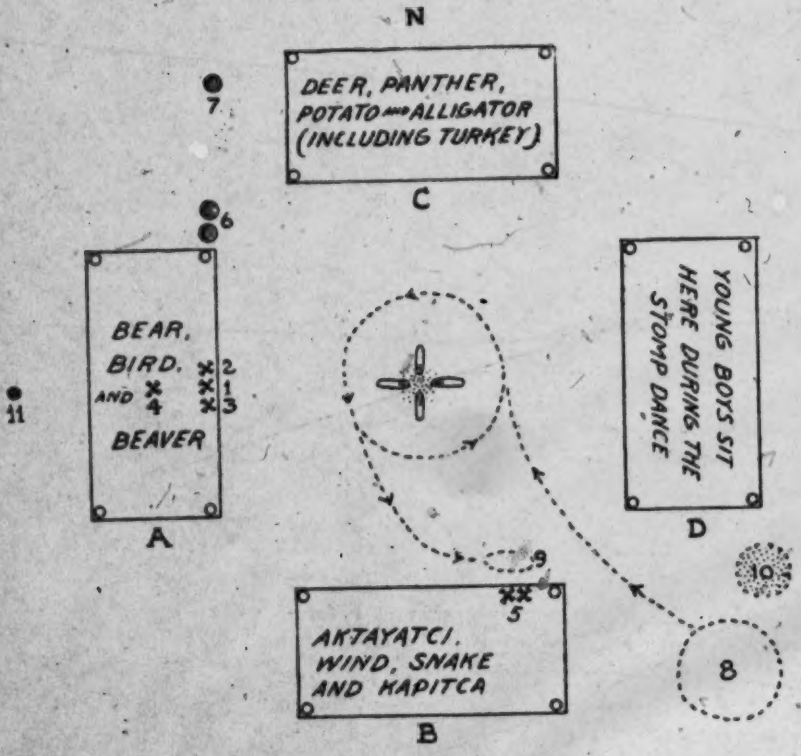


FIG. 15.—Ochesee Seminole square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha (Bird); 3, yatika (Deer in 1929); 4, hilis haya (Wind in 1929).
B. Warriors' Bed: 5, yahaikas.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

6, medicine pots; 7, medicine pot for boys (containing red root); 8, point where women gather before dancing; 9, point where women start to dance; 10, ashes of old fires; 11, ball post.

however, use wormseed ("wilana"). After they are through with the medicines, whatever is left is poured out at the place where they have been taken.

The miko is chosen if possible from the Bear clan, but if they do not find a suitable man of that clan, they select someone from the Beaver clan.

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Seminole NN10



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The yatika and hilis haya may be selected from any clan, the former being chosen for his oratorical gifts.

There is now no henīha. The last they had went to live with the Creeks and did not come back.

Two ta'palas are used in the women's dance and hold their position for four years. Other ta'palas are chosen temporarily for the other dances. In the stomp dances they change these ta'palas several times during the night.

There are four hilis hoboia taken from the west, north and south cabins but from any clan. They keep their positions as long as they choose to serve.

There is one tutka dīdja who can be of any clan.

Five or six boys bring water to the ground.

The two leaders among the women carry atása which are painted with white clay annually just before the dance. Women do not take the wīlana internally; they merely wet their faces and other parts of their bodies with it. The boys use only the miko hoyanīdja.

The ashes of the old fire are removed from the square and the new fire lighted on the morning of the fast day.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Beaver, Wind, Otter and Skunk; the rest are Tcilokis. The Bird and Beaver belonged in one phratry, and so did the Wind, Otter and Skunk; the Alligator and Turkey; and the Áktayatci, Kapitca, and Snake.

The name of the present miko is Nokos Miko, and his father belonged to the Deer clan. The last henīha was named Henīha Miko, and his father was of the Bear clan. The busk name of the yatika (my informant) is Pahosa Tástánągi; his father belonged to the Áktayatci, and his father's father to the Bear.

They have a ball post surmounted by a wooden fish. A hit on this fish counts 4, and on the post above a certain mark 2. There have been no regular match games between towns in the lifetime of my informant, but about two years ago the old men and the young men played against each other.

The above plan of the Ochesee ground agrees closely, naturally enough, with that which I obtained from the man whose advice was particularly resorted to in reestablishing it some years ago (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 283), for in 1912 it had been given up. The main differences are in the seating of the Potato and Alligator clans. In the matter of the moieties the only change is in the case of the Raccoon clan, which I previously set down as White. This is so exceptional, however, that I have always believed that I must have misunderstood my informant.

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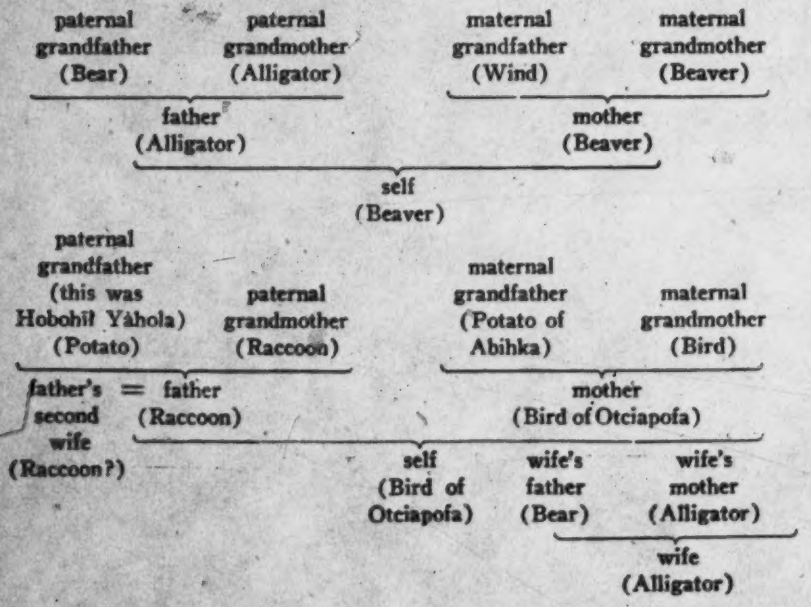
## GENEALOGIES

The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłáko; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohił Yáhola.




## CONCLUSION

The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders

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of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe. Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

The universe with which the Creeks sought reconciliation was not, however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in, it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi, "the breath controller," and also Ibofanga, "the one above," and that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the supreme being of the Creeks.

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1. Abihka or Talladega square ground.

2. Tulsa square ground from the southeast.

[End plate 1]

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1. Nuyaka square ground.

2. The three beds of Pakan Tallahassee, from the southwest.

[End plate 2]

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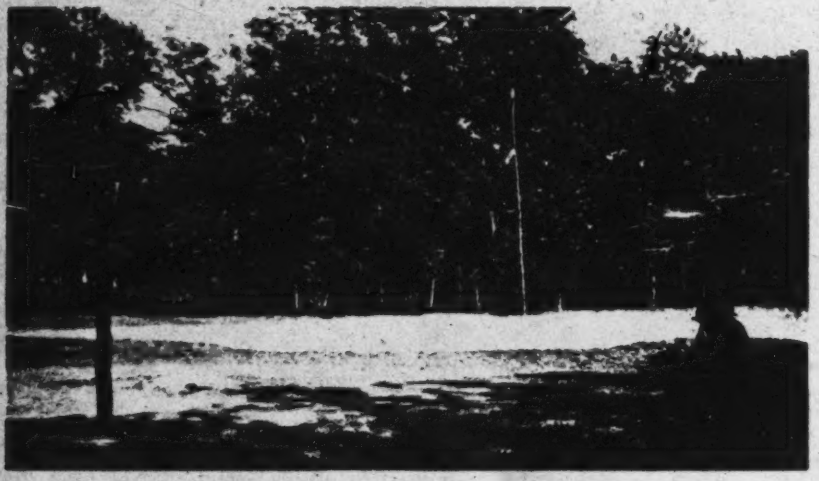

1. Pakan Tallahassee square ground looking between west and south beds, showing chunkey yard and ball post.

2. Wiogufki square ground from the southwest.

[End plate 3]

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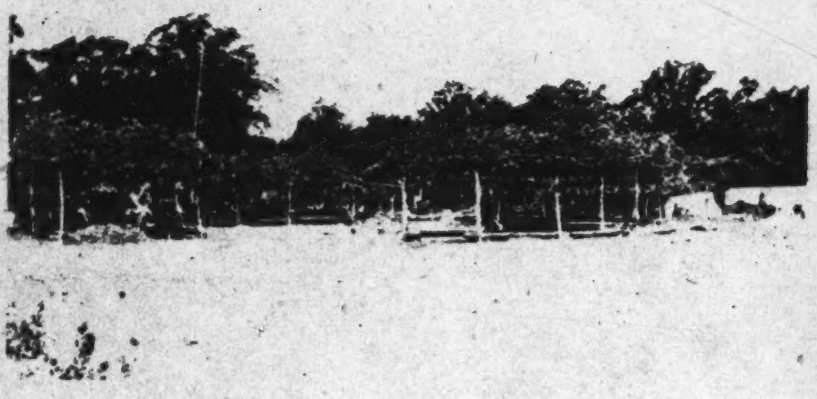
1. Okchai square ground in winter from the southwest.



2. Fish Pond square ground.

[End plate 4]

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1. Pakabahchee square ground.

2. Hilibi square ground in winter from the southwest.

[End plate 5]

[For seating arrangements of clans in square grounds and for general information on the role of clans in community organization, see category 621]

[For descriptions of ritual seating arrangements in square grounds, see category 621]

[For descriptions of seating arrangements in Creek town square grounds of the several social groups in the community (clans, age and sex groups, warriors, village officials and religious functionaries) see category 621]

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[For seating arrangements of village officials and religious functionaries in square grounds, see category 621]

[For the seating of warriors in square grounds, see category 621]

[For ceremonial seating arrangements in square grounds, see category 621]